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The

# American Historical Review

## THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION IN CALIFORNIA

FOR several years, indeed during most of the period since the establishment of the Pacific Coast Branch in 1903, the members of that branch urgently invited the American Historical Association to hold one of its regular meetings somewhere upon the Pacific Slope. Great as were the attractions, the difficulties, especially in the case of meetings held at Christmas time, seemed insurmountable. Accordingly the Pacific Coast members, three years ago, took advantage of the approach of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition to invite the Association to hold an additional or intercalary meeting in California in the summer of 1915. The invitation was gratefully accepted. Mr. Rudolph J. Taussig, president of the Academy of Pacific Coast History and secretary of the exposition, was made chairman of the committee of arrangements, Professor E. D. Adams of Stanford University (whose place was later taken by Professor Frederic L. Thompson of Amherst College, temporarily resident at Berkeley), chairman of the committee on programme. The date set was July 20-23. Officials of the University of California, of Stanford University, and of other Californian institutions, co-operated heartily with those named, in making the meeting successful; but no doubt all who labored for its success would unite in declaring that it owed more of its form, merit, and interest to the endeavors of Professor H. Morse Stephens, of the University of California, president of the American Historical Association, than to those of any other individual.

Those who remember the meeting of July, 1893, held at Chicago during the time of the World's Fair, will not need to be told that a meeting held under such circumstances cannot be expected to have the same character as one that might be held in cloistered seclusion at some tranquil time and place. It was difficult for audiences to be prompt, difficult sometimes for them to resist the surrounding

*California Meeting of the*

attractions of the exposition. The programme was broken, a little more largely than is usual, by defaults and alterations. Circumstances required the exercises to be held in too many different places—the Philippine Islands Building, the Oregon Building, the California Building, the Argentine Building, at the exposition, the Fairmont Hotel and the hall of the Native Sons of the Golden West in San Francisco, the buildings of the University of California at Berkeley, those of Stanford University at Palo Alto—places, in some instances, separated from each other by long suburban or urban journeys.

But on the other hand there were compensations, more than ample, for all these minor and inevitable infelicities. No one had expected or desired the occasion to reproduce in full detail the typical meeting of the Association, and all attempt to do so was frankly abandoned. There was no business session, nor any attempt to transact business. The attendance (registration about 150) was mainly of members dwelling in the western half of the United States, though with a fair sprinkling of eastern members. The programme made no effort to cover the whole field of human history, but, with excellent judgment, substituted for the usual miscellany a body of papers all having the common trait of relating to the Pacific Ocean or to Panama. This appropriate limitation gave unity to the whole occasion, and the exceptional interest which resulted from it was one of the distinguishing marks of the California meeting.

Other distinguishing characteristics were supplied by the local environment and by the resident friends of the Association. It was difficult to take other than a hopeful view of the status and progress of history, in the sparkling air and under the bright sky of California, in sight of the Audacious Archer and the other artistic triumphs of the exposition, under the live-oaks of the Berkeley campus, or in the impressive cloisters of Palo Alto. The great war, which in the East oppresses the heart with incessant pain, was visibly three thousand miles farther away. The local members of the Association welcomed all comers with Californian openness of hand and mind. The general receptions at the California Building, at the house of President Wheeler, and at the hall of the Native Sons, the luncheons at the two universities, the afternoon hour at the beautiful country house of Mr. and Mrs. Crocker, and on the final day the hours of exquisite pleasure spent under the hospitable roof of Mrs. Hearst at her hacienda at Pleasanton, made a sum total of social pleasure which can hardly have been equalled at any previous

meeting, and which certainly could never be paralleled at any meeting held in the East in December.

By association with the meetings of the American Asiatic Association and of the Asiatic Institute, the meeting was made a part of a Panama-Pacific Historical Congress; but the present report is confined to the proceedings of the Historical Association. Those of the two organizations which preceded were not in the strict sense historical, though they dealt with themes which have great interest for every historian; for instance, the proceedings of the Asiatic Institute consisted of discussions of "The Pacific as the Theatre of Two Civilizations" and "The Pacific as the Theatre of 'the World's great Hereafter'", by ex-Secretary Bryan, ex-President Taft, Chancellor Jordan, and others. Even in the case of the papers read before the Historical Association, the fullest sort of summary is rendered less necessary, and the defects naturally attending one auditor's report will be made less of an evil, by the fact that a volume commemorative of the occasion and containing the full text of most of these papers is expected to be published before long. It will certainly be a notable volume, for the papers, besides the unity of theme and effect which has been spoken of above, were in general of marked excellence.

Four general papers of distinguished value marked the evening sessions: the address of Professor Stephens, president of the Association, on the Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific Ocean; that of Señor Don Rafael Altamira y Crevea, professor at Madrid, and representative of the Spanish government on this occasion, on Spain and the Pacific Ocean; that of Hon. John F. Davis, president of the Native Sons of the Golden West, on the History of California, and that of Mr. Taussig on "The American Interoceanic Canal; an Historical Sketch of the Canal Idea". At the conclusion of Mr. Taussig's clear and valuable review of the long process by which the great historic event now being celebrated had been brought about, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, an ex-president of the Association, being called upon by the president gave an extended and most interesting narrative of the course of action through which, as president of the United States, he had secured to it the opportunity to construct a Panama Canal under purely American control; his speech gave to the programme a dramatic conclusion not foreseen.

The main purpose of Professor Stephens's presidential address was to show how the development of efforts for the control of the Pacific had followed the course of European politics. This was done with a characteristically wide view over the fields of modern

European history. Regular communication, it was pointed out, and systematic exploration and development, and all the problems of the Pacific, begin with the first advent of the Europeans, with the arrival of the Portuguese at Malacca in 1509 and in China, and with the simultaneous Spanish discoveries of Balboa. The first great landmarks are the expedition of Magellan and the Spanish occupation of the Philippines, begun in 1565, the latter an event of capital importance, which the institution of the Manila galleon connected closely with the history of Mexico. Another stage was marked by the absorption of Portugal into Spain in 1580. The English and Dutch resistance to the Hapsburg power is reflected in Drake's voyage and in other events, but the commercial endeavors of those powers were turned rather toward India, eastern Asia, and the Malay Archipelago, from which however the Dutch developed the earlier explorations of the South Pacific. The Spanish monopoly in the Pacific, assailed by the English and Dutch in the early seventeenth century, and under Louis XIV. by those French attacks which Dahlgren has recently described, was revived after the treaty of Utrecht, but once more assailed by the English in their struggle against exclusion from Spanish America, culminating in the war of 1740. Anson's incursion into the Pacific and capture of the Manila galleon marked a fresh era, showing that the Spanish power in the Pacific was vulnerable, that that ocean need no longer be regarded as a Spanish lake. English statesmen began to cast their eyes upon it. Draper's occupation of Manila in 1762 was a preliminary sign. From the time of Peter the Great the monopoly began to be threatened by Russia. Spain answered by renewed efforts, northward from New Spain, westward from Peru. The *legajo* in the Archives of the Indies which relates to the Portolá expedition is entitled "Papers relating to the Russians in California". But the answer came too late, and the Nootka Sound convention of 1790, ending Spanish monopoly, ended an epoch in the history of the Pacific. Already the first real trade across the Pacific—in furs from the Northwest Coast to China—had been begun; but the suspension of European activity of this sort from 1789 to 1815 gave the United States the chance to supplant Europe in the trade. In a similar manner, the effects of Spanish American independence, of the American acquisition of California, of the foundation of British Columbia and the confederation of Canada, of the rise of Japan and Australia, and of the war of 1898, were sketched in their large outlines, the problem of the conflicts between America and Asiatic powers remaining as the chief problem of the twentieth century.

Of the sessions occupied, after the manner of such meetings, with groups of briefer papers, five were devoted to five different aspects or subdivisions of the main theme of the congress. Thus, one session, a session held jointly with the two Asiatic societies, was given to the Philippine Islands and their History, as a part of the history of the Pacific Ocean area; one to the Northwestern States, British Columbia, and Alaska in their relation with the Pacific Ocean; one to Spanish America and the Pacific; one to the Exploration of the Northern Pacific Ocean and the Settlement of California; and one to Japan and Australasia. There was also a meeting of the California History Teachers' Association, and a meeting devoted to the history of New Mexico and styled a meeting of the New Mexico Historical Society, though open to the same public as the other sessions. In the former the question was discussed, by Professor George L. Burr of Cornell University, Miss Crystal Harford of the Lodi High School, Mr. Edward J. Beringer of the Sacramento High School, and Mr. John R. Sutton of the Oakland High School, whether it is for the interest of history in schools that the American Historical Association make a fuller definition of the history requirement for entrance to college, a definition showing the especial points to be emphasized and those to be more lightly treated.

The session relating to Philippine History was presided over by Professor León María Guerrero, of the University of Manila, who introduced the session by remarks on the moral mission of history and on the special difficulties of the history of the Philippine Islands. In the absence of Dr. James A. Robertson, librarian of the Philippine Library, a summary was given, by another hand, of a paper in which he had set forth a remarkable discovery lately made by him, on the island of Panay, of a Bisayan criminal code in a syllabic script, which casts much novel light on the social structure of the early Philippine peoples and on their ideas of law in the period before the Spanish occupation.

Of the papers actually read in the session, the first, by Mr. K. C. Leebrick, of the University of California, dealt with the Troubles of an English Governor of the Philippines, namely, those of Dawsonne Drake, a simple-minded East India Company servant, of narrow training, sent out from Madras after the conquest of Manila, installed as deputy governor in November, 1762, and forced by his council to resign in March, 1764. The story was told from the Manila Records in the archives of Madras, and from papers in the Public Record Office and the British Museum. The difficulties were those naturally engendered by placing the officers of a mili-

tary and naval expedition under the direction of a commercial company, but heightened by conciliar organization, by the confusion of military and financial purposes, and by dissensions of religion and race among English, Spanish, native, and Chinese elements.

The paper by Dr. Charles H. Cunningham, of the same university, on the Question of Ecclesiastical Visitation in the Philippines, dealt with a long series of disputes arising from the exceptional arrangement whereby in these islands benefices were largely held by members of the regular clergy. The practice of episcopal visitation placed such holders of benefices in a position of divided allegiance, as between their prelates and their orders, and led to long-continued discord. Some of the earlier archbishops were regulars, ambitious for their orders; later, the archbishop usually acted under a natural ambition to control all ecclesiastical affairs. In these disputes of prelates and friars, the audiencia acted both as a tribunal and as agent of the royal power. But in the end the supplanting of the friars by seculars was generally conceded to be inadvisable, because its tendency would be to bring into the benefices immature and undesirable native priests.

Dr. David P. Barrows, dean in the University of California, and formerly commissioner of education in the Philippine Islands, gave a mere summary of his paper on the Governor General of the Philippines under Spain and the United States. The dilemma in the shaping of the office was, as he described it, that of investing the supreme administrative official with ample authority for meeting all emergencies, at so great a distance from the metropolitan country, yet guarding against excessive power. The purport of his paper was to describe the extent to which the traditions of this same great office as it existed under Spain had survived into the present régime.

The session for Northwestern-Pacific history was opened by a paper by Hon. F. W. Howay of New Westminster, judge in British Columbia, on the Fur Trade as a Factor in Northwestern Development. After dwelling upon the transitory character, wasteful competition, and slight results of the period of maritime endeavor from 1788 to 1815, he turned to description of the greater results which followed the fur trade, especially after the union of the Northwest Company with the Hudson's Bay Company. Despite the purpose of avoiding improvements not strictly necessary to subsistence and the trade, the Company was insensibly led to develop the country in ways that would bring forward agriculture and commerce, the lumber and coal industries.

From extensive studies in the Russian archives, made on behalf of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Professor Frank A. Golder, of Washington State College, in an address of much interest, developed the Attitude of the Russian Government toward its American Possessions. The beginning was made by the expeditions of Peter the Great. Catherine II. uniformly vetoed proposals of Russian expansion into America, on the ground that such undertakings called for a greater marine and a more abundant population than Russia possessed, and also would detract from the development of Siberia. Mr. Golder described the discussions under the Czar Paul, the chartering of the Russian America Company, the renewed discussions when its first charter expired, and the increasing burden which Russian America appeared, from 1820 to 1860, to lay on the Russian government, until, after an unfavorable report from two commissioners sent out in 1861-1862, Russia was quite ready to give up the territory for much less than she obtained by the treaty of 1867. The reasons given by Stoeckl, minister at Washington, in a confidential report to the Minister of Finance, were summarized: the general unprofitableness of European colonies, the difficulty of holding that great region in case of war, the great burden of expense to be borne till a remote period, the precariousness of trade as the United States expanded, "manifest destiny", and the stronger claims of the career that lay before the Russians in Asia.

Hon. Clarence B. Bagley of Seattle, in a paper on the Waterways of the Pacific Northwest, dwelt chiefly upon the development of steamboat navigation, especially that of navigation on the Columbia River till its recent opening up to Lewiston, upon the harbor improvements by government and capitalists at Seattle and Vancouver, and upon the recent history of northwestern commerce.

The final paper in this session was a thoughtful and suggestive discourse by its chairman, Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon, on the Western Ocean as a Determinant in Oregon History. Adverting first to the large place which water communication with the Pacific, for purposes primarily of Asiatic trade, had had in Jefferson's instructions to Lewis and Clark and earlier explorers, he showed how nevertheless the Willamette colony had till 1849 been isolated from the rest of the world almost as completely as early Virginia or Massachusetts. Development out of the pioneer stage would probably have been much slower but for external accidents like the discovery of gold in California and in British Columbia. Enthusiastic faith in a Pacific future, such as is expressed in Wilkes's prophetic words regarding the relations of Oregon and California to the Pacific Ocean, or such as is shown

in those thoughts of Asiatic trade that inspired the earliest projects of transcontinental railroads, caused the region to be settled before its time. Its social state advanced more rapidly than that of the Mississippi Valley because of its openness to the sea.

In the session expected to be devoted to Spanish America and the Pacific Ocean it so happened that the programme actually carried out consisted of three papers in Mexican history. Professor Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, described the life and the tireless missionary labors of Father Eusebio Kino, basing his narrative on the elaborate account by the father himself, *Favores Celestiales*, the manuscript of which Professor Bolton had discovered in Mexico. Kino's fifty *entradas* and missionary endeavors in Pimería Alta (southern Arizona and northern Sonora, 1687-1711), his foundation of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and other missions, and the cartographical and industrial results of his labors, were well described.

Mr. Herbert J. Priestley, of the same university, presented a valuable paper upon the important subject of the Reforms of Joseph Gálvez in New Spain, where he spent the years 1769-1775 as the last *visitador general*. The speaker described the character of Gálvez, energetic, independent, vindictive, his instructions from Ariaga, and the financial abuses, of complication, looseness, peculation, which he was expected to correct. His reforms, supported by the Marqués de la Croix, and followed up by Bucareli and Revillagigedo, his creation of the Provincias Internas, his establishment of the intendancy system, greatly increased the royal revenues; but his efforts were confined to economic reform, when social and judicial reforms were also sadly needed.

A paper by the chairman of the session, Professor William R. Manning, of the University of Texas, on British Influence in Mexico and Poinsett's Struggle against it, brought this session to its conclusion. The paper, which rested on archival research in both Washington and Mexico, narrated the quasi-diplomatic efforts made by Canning in 1822 and 1823 through confidential agents preceding the appointment of Michelena as minister to Great Britain, the definite resolve of that country to recognize Mexican independence, the arrival of Poinsett, and his efforts to counteract the coolness of the Mexicans toward the United States and the ascendancy of the British representatives.

The first of the papers in Californian history, in a session held at Berkeley, was a paper of personal reminiscence, by its chairman, Hon. Horace Davis, on the Home League of 1861, an organization

of California Union men formed to bring together Republicans and Democrats in support of the Union and of President Lincoln's administration. Its work consisted in conducting propaganda, organizing a Home Guard, promoting enlistment, keeping down conspiracy, and especially in striving to elect a war governor (Stanford) who would support Lincoln. After Stanford's election, those who sympathized with the Confederacy largely left the state, to share the Confederate fortunes.

Next, Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., of Santa Barbara, the historian of the Franciscan missions of California, gave a brief and informal description of the order, of the general objects of its work in California, of its difficulties, of the methods of establishing and maintaining its sixteen missions, and of the process of their suppression.

In a paper on the Northern Limits of Drake's Voyage, Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, whose recent Hakluyt Society volume of new Drake documents will be remembered, established careful comparisons between noteworthy maps covering his Pacific voyage—the Hakluyt copy (Paris, 1584) of Drake's great map, made for Henry of Navarre, the Dutch-French map of 1586 in the New York Public Library, a second Dutch map corrected by Drake himself, and Hondius's map and text of 1596, which Hakluyt took over from the Dutch into the 1598 edition of his *Voyages*, the only narrative he gives which tells the story of New Albion.

The last paper of this session was one by Professor William D. Armes, of the University of California, on the Bear Flag War.

In the New Mexican session, which also took place at Berkeley, Hon. Bradford L. Prince, ex-governor of New Mexico, and president of the New Mexico Historical Society, described its work and collections, and marked the occasion, considered as a meeting of the society, by presenting the diploma of honorary membership to Professor Bolton and to Mr. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of California. Mr. Bolton then read a paper entitled New Light on the Explorations of Juan de Oñate. After reviewing the sources already familiar, for the most part already in print in the *Colección de Documentos*, he showed that documents of similar class and of equal value lay unprinted in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. Of several of these, transcripts are now available at Berkeley, including Oñate's own narrative of his journey of 1601, which, it seems, extended to the regions of southern Kansas (Wichita).

The chairman of the session, Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa, of

Stanford University, then called upon Professor Altamira, who spoke in Spanish, with great eloquence, upon the responsibilities, political and moral, of the historian.

Under the title, New Light on the American Fur Trade in the Southwest, Professor Thomas M. Marshall, of Stanford University, described, from *expedientes* found in Sonora and in the City of Mexico, the fur-seeking expedition of Cyril St. Vrain to the Gila River in 1826. Of such expeditions in that region there is little record. They were illicit and largely surreptitious. Gregg did not engage in trade over the Santa Fé trail till 1831, and knew little beyond that later trade in merchandise of which his book gives the classical account. St. Vrain's large expedition, which went into Sonora, mostly for beaver, was the subject of local protest, and of remonstrance to Poinsett.

The last paper of the session was one by Mr. Charles W. Hackett, on the Causes of the Failure of Otermín's Attempt to reconquer New Mexico, based on new materials obtained from Mexico and Spain, from the Bancroft Library and the Peabody Museum. The causes were simply the superiority of numbers on the Indian side, and the want of confidence in success on the part of the Spaniards.

The session concerned with Japan and Australasia was held at Palo Alto, Chancellor Jordan presiding. It was marked by two papers of capital interest, one by Dr. Naojiro Murakami, president of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and representative of the Japanese government, and the other by Professor K. Asakawa of Yale University. Dr. Murakami's subject was the Early Relations between Japan and Mexico; his paper was based on personal researches in Seville as well as in Japan. The relations described grew out of commerce with the Philippines, from which annual ships began to come to Japan in 1608. The next year the beaching on the Japanese coast of the *San Francisco*, en route from Cavite to Acapulco, gave Iyeyasu the occasion for beginning relations with Mexico. The sailing of the first Japanese merchant in 1610, on the *San Buenaventura*, built in Japan by William Adams, had its response in Vizcaino's voyage of exploration to Japan in 1611. Macao and the Jesuits opposed the Philippine-Japanese trade, the Franciscans favored it; the audiencia of the Philippines, on the other hand, opposed the trade between Mexico and Japan. Dr. Murakami described the voyage of the Japanese envoy sent by Masamune in 1613 to the viceroy of Mexico, his progress on to Spain and Rome, his return by way of the Philippines, his arrival in Japan

in 1620; and narrated the course of events which made this trans-Pacific intercourse so short-lived.

Professor Asakawa's paper took the audience back into an earlier period of Japanese history, dealing with Japan's Early Experience with Buddhism. He described with much skill the stages through which Buddhism passed in the first seven centuries after its introduction into Japan: at first, much beyond the mental range of the average votary, emphasizing the moral conduct of the individual and used to promote welfare in a non-spiritual sense; then (ninth to twelfth century) turning at the Kyoto court toward the founding of temples and monasteries and thus toward ritualism, but pursued with better understanding of Buddhist doctrine, until the Kyoto literature was pervaded with it; then the new plan of salvation, after the grave, called Zhodo; then, as feudalism increased and the military class came into domination, reaching in the thirteenth century the form called Zen, suited to the needs of such a caste and calling for extreme concentration of mind, energy, and boldness.

For a fuller knowledge of the papers thus briefly summarized, recourse must be had to the forthcoming volume, already mentioned. But even these insufficient outlines may serve to show how copious and vivid was the interest of the occasion to those who were so fortunate as to attend, and how abundantly the project of holding a meeting of the Association on the Pacific Coast was justified by its execution.

J. F. J.